1: Layard
● 796

Malekula 0012

[For a discription and analysis of the Maki ceremony, see category 116, pp. 292-309, 345-9, 443-54.]

1: Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
OO12 Malekula OO12

Original stone-platform on which cannibal feasts were held. The roots of the banyan tree surrounding it are hollowed out to form a cave, in which the victim was cooked and eaten. Probably built at or before the time of Na-va-gharu-kalat (see pp. 414, 621).

196
266

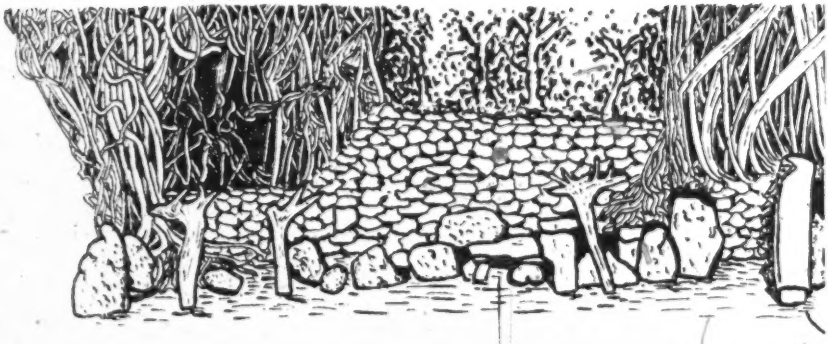


Plate II, Fig. 1 →
← Plates II

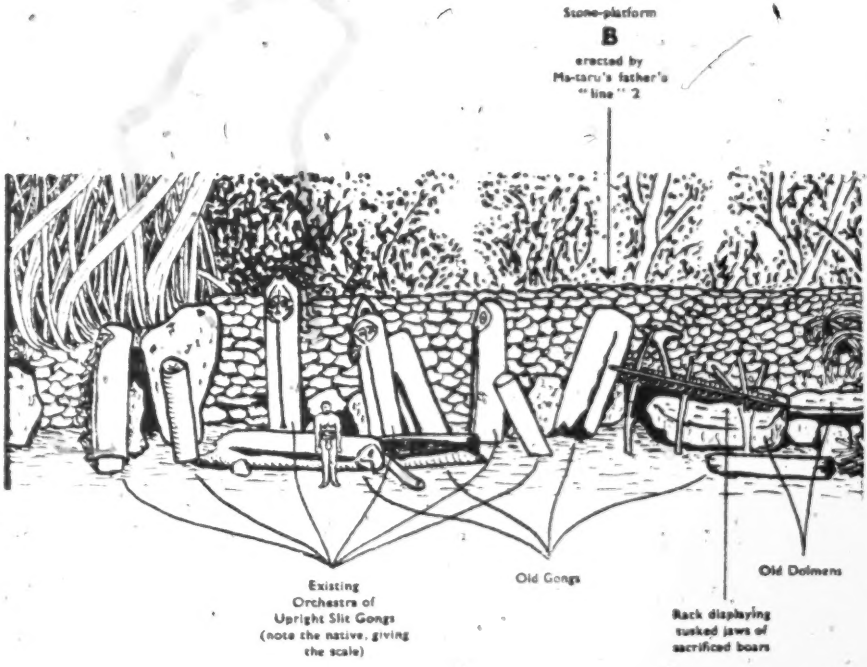
Approximate Scale

0 5 10 20 30 40 50 Feet

[Frontispiece (A)]

1: Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
OO12 Malekula OO12

●796
.S34



Plates II, Fig. 2, and XIII, Fig. 1 — Plate XIII, Fig. 2

Stone monuments and upright slit gongs erected on the Upper S
of the village of Pete-hul in connexion with the megalithic rite calle
author's notes and with the aid of Plates II, III, XIII, XVI). Th
by the insertion of a native figure (my informant, Ma-taru) stand
Letters A to F refer to the account of successive performances of the

50 Feet

[Frontispiece (B)]

1: Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
0012 Malekula 0012

796

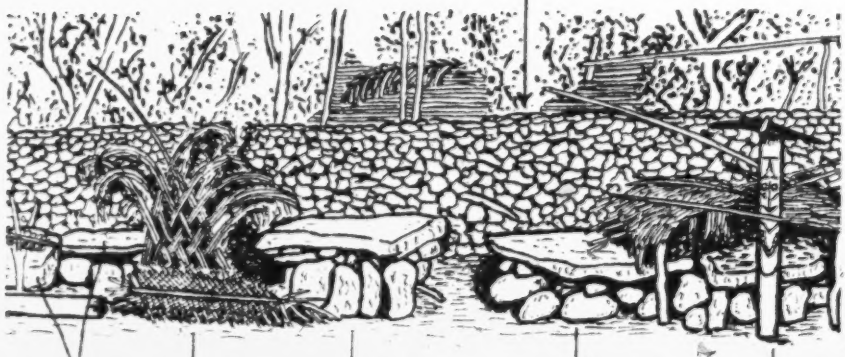


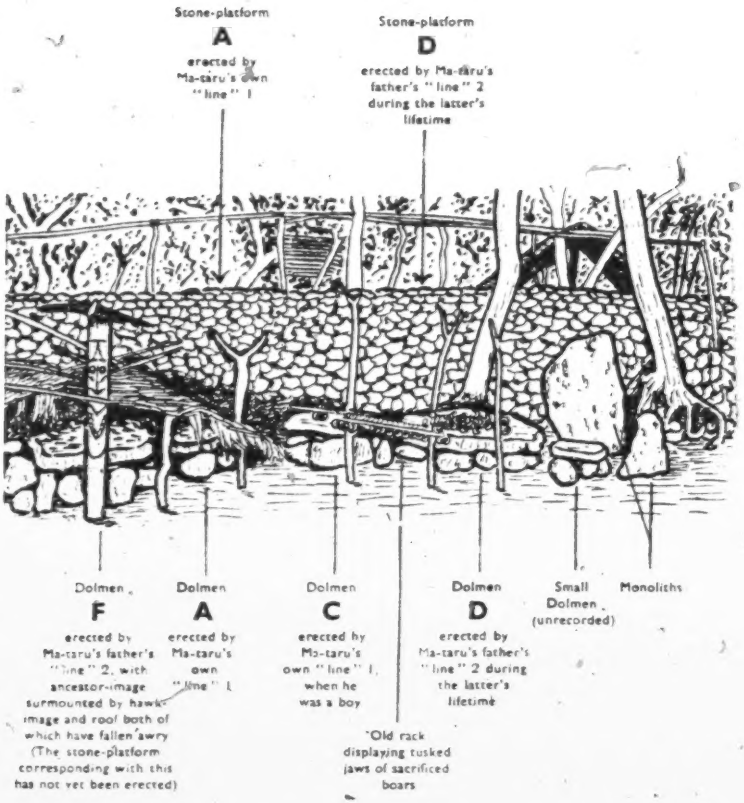
Plate XVI, Fig. 1 — Plate III, Fig. 1

on the Upper Side of the dancing-ground
egalithic rite called Maki (sketched from the
XIII, XVI). The scale is given in feet, and
t. Ma-taru) standing in front of the gongs.
rformances of the Maki given on pp. 414-16.

[Frontispiece (c)]

1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
0012 Malekula 0012

796


Stone-platform
A
erected by Ma-taru's own "line" 1
Stone-platform
D
erected by Ma-taru's father's "line" 2 during the latter's lifetime
Dolmen
F
erected by Ma-taru's father's "line" 2, with ancestor-image surmounted by hawk-image and roof both of which have fallen awry (The stone-platform corresponding with this has not yet been erected)
Dolmen
A
erected by Ma-taru's own "line" 1
Dolmen
C
erected by Ma-taru's own "line" 1, when he was a boy
Dolmen
D
erected by Ma-taru's father's "line" 2 during the latter's lifetime
Small Dolmen (unrecorded)
Monoliths
Old rack displaying tusked jaws of sacrificed boars
Plate III, Fig. 1
Plate III, Fig. 2

[Frontispiece (D)]

1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
0012 Malekula 0012

island already referred to,[1] and, through their co-existence with the overt patrilineal organisation shared by the Small Islands with Ambrim and with all parts of Malekula, have produced in the Small Islands also a sectional organisation not found elsewhere in Malekula. The result of this organisation on the megalithic ritual of the Small Islands is to divide the whole population of any given patrilocal village into the two groups already mentioned, each of which alternately performs the rite; and this rite is consequently of such a protracted nature that the cycle of ritual observances accompanying it takes almost a generation to perform, the minimum period in Vao being some fifteen years, followed by an interval of several more years before the resources of the community have sufficiently recovered for the other group composed of alternate generations in the male line to shoulder the responsibility of, and reap the honours due to, its repetition. In Atchin the minimum period is even longer, the ritual cycle there lasting about thirty years.

MEGALITHIC RITE CALLED MAKI

Main characteristics.

This main megalithic rite is in the Small Islands called *Maki*, and its counterpart throughout the whole mat-skirt area of Malekula is called by variants of the same word, of which the best known is *Mangki*,[2] as recorded by Deacon from South-West Bay. It is on the one hand a "mystery" in the sense outlined in the Preface, based, like all mysteries, on a ritual re-birth, of which the outward and visible signs are here the taking of a new name and lighting of a new fire on which, or from brands taken from it, the food for the re-born individual's sustenance must be cooked. As a rule, also, during the period immediately following the culminating act of re-birth the celebrant ritually becomes a child, in that for a minimum of thirty days he may not cook his own food nor leave the holy place where he has taken up his abode. During this period of spiritual as well as physical retirement, though his food may be cooked, with due precautions, by his wife, he abstains from sexual intercourse and observes many other taboos, one of the commonest of which is that he may not look on the sea. By these means he becomes at one also with the ancestral dead in whose footsteps through the observance of the rite he treads. The stone monuments he sets up are likewise erected not only for himself and, in the Small Islands, for all those who perform the rite with him, but also for those same ancestors who have performed it before him, and whose ghosts, together with his own after his death,

[1] See p. 5 and later on pp. 118 ff.

[2] In Deacon's posthumously published work this is referred to throughout as *Nimangki*, in which *ni-* is only the indefinite article and is therefore redundant. For other variants of this word see p. 692.

1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915)1942
0012 Malekula 0012

hover near them and are commemorated by them. Closely connected with this is the propitiatory aspect of the rite, which is at the same time a prophylactic against the wrath of all ancestors as constellated in the figure of a devouring Guardian Ghost. In the closely associated megalithic ritual in South Raga described by Tattevin,[1] those demanding special propitiation are the male representatives of the maternal line such as the mother's brother and the mother's mother's brother, whose favoured position under the former system of matrilineal descent has been undermined and to a large extent overthrown by the system of overt patrilineal descent, that, coming from the south, is the dominating feature of the latest cultural wave to have overtaken this part of Melanesia and the distribution of which in the North-Central New Hebrides coincides very closely with that of the Maki. In this sense the Maki also is a kinship rite of the highest significance, and in its component sub-rites also includes the ritual payment of debts to a great number of living relatives, chief among whom are the mother's brother and the wife's father.

Coupled with this is the effort to achieve immortality implicit in the attempt to ward off the evil activities of the Guardian Ghost, who is an earthbound creature guarding the cave through which the ghost of the dead man must pass on his way to the Land of the Dead, and who will devour him if not duly propitiated by the lifelong performance of these rites, supported by sacrifices performed by the dead man's kinsman during the ritual carried out at his death, and by the further presentation of a gift by the ghost of the dead man himself. This effort to escape the annihilating influence of the grave and rise superior to earthly considerations is further expressed in the identification of each individual performing the rite with the mythical hawk who presides over the rites and whose image adorns the shrines built in honour of the ancestral ghosts as well as the place of retreat to which the celebrants retire after their ritual re-birth.

Every step in this ritual is further accompanied by singing and dancing of the most elaborate kind expressing the whole gamut of emotions, accompanied by rhythms played on an orchestra of slit gongs formed from tree trunks hollowed out by means of a longitudinal slit. These gongs, many feet higher than a man, are in Malekula planted upright in the ground, and are carved at the top to represent a face of which the upper end of the slit takes the place of the mouth. These gongs thus represent ancestors, and the sounds issuing from the slit when they are sounded are the ancestral voices urging and encouraging the living to dance themselves into that state of communal ecstasy that banishes personal affects and brings them into communion with collective forces passed on from the long line of those now dead, who have themselves performed these rites, to their representatives now living and dancing, and to the issue of these still to come.

[1] See p. 721.

1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
OO12 Malekula OO12

184 introduction of firearms to the natives by unscrupulous Whites, whereby
177 the Small Islanders, who were the first to acquire these weapons, succeeded in exterminating almost the whole of the once numerous population inhabiting the villages on the adjacent Malekulan coast.[1] This tragedy, now bitterly regretted by the Small Islanders themselves, has prevented any further enquiry as to how these two villages themselves acquired the rites. I do not know the actual date of this extermination. It cannot, however, have occurred very long ago, and in the generations preceding it a mass of ritual practices emanating from these two villages had already been acquired by Wala, whence a great deal has since been acquired in turn by Atchin but only a certain amount by Vao, and that only by the villages on one side of this island. This is one of the reasons why, as stated in the Preface, I have chosen Vao as the subject for this first volume in order to establish the historical sequence of cultures on these islands. Where this megalithic culture came from it is not the business of this work to discuss, and, except as regards a few outstanding features, the historical aspect of the problem is not mentioned.

Genealogical records and their connexion with stone monuments.

173 One relevant fact must nevertheless be mentioned because of
554 its effect on the natives' own outlook. This is the sense of historical
769 continuity possessed by the natives of the Small Islands, in which they
796 differ notably from any other known tribes in this part of Melanesia, and which is expressed and fostered by their extensive orally transmitted genealogical records. I have already called attention to the fact that the cycle of rites comprising one performance of the Maki lasts approximately a generation, and to the stone monuments erected during each such performance. These monuments are never removed, and remain as a perpetual memorial of those who set them up. Each such performance is moreover distinguished from all others by some outstanding feature by means of which those taking part in it hope to eclipse in magnificence all previous performances, either by the acquirement of some new form of ritual or in the grandeur of the stones erected or, most impressive of all, by the number of boars sacrificed and by their value in terms of the elongation of their tusks. It is as a rule in accordance with this latter form of emulation that each Maki performance is named, these names, such as "The Circle-Tusker" or "The Five Hundred," referring to the quality or number of boars sacrificed, being treasured by the natives of each village as part of the historical heritage enhancing their own prestige. Not only is each Maki remembered, however, but also the leading men who organised it and carried it through, by means of the monoliths erected and at which some of the chief tuskers are sacrificed. Details of these sacrifices are also remembered, since, with

[1] See p. 602.

1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
0012 Malekula 0012

the progressive increase in skill in the rearing of tuskers (another feature to be discussed later), these have on the whole improved in quality during each successive generation, and the memory of these improvements, resulting in ever greater curvature of the tusks, adds to the prestige of those who sacrificed them and also to that of their descendants. These facts, handed down from father to son, together with the ancestral stone monuments standing in every village dancing-ground, form a historical framework by the aid of which the natives of the Small Islands preserve a mass of information regarding their past history, and of the personalities and exploits of their ancestors. Since most of the facts so preserved are centred round the successive performances of the Maki, there can be no doubt at all that this historical sense is part and parcel of the megalithic culture it represents. There is also very little doubt that it is closely connected with patrilineal descent, for in Vao, where patrilineal descent has been comparatively recently introduced and the dolmen representing the female principle is still the chief monument erected, the genealogies do not go back more than nine generations. In Atchin, on the contrary, where patrilineal influence is stronger and monoliths representing the male principle have largely supplanted the former use of the dolmen as the chief sacrificial monument, they go back nineteen generations to the slaying by two brothers of an aboriginal man-eating ogre named Ias associated with an older layer of culture, memories of which still survive in South Raga, where legends are told of mythical baby-snatchers called *ias*, and the same word is used also as an honourable title for successful killers of men.[1] The two Atchin brothers said to have killed Ias nineteen generations ago were clearly the last representatives on this island of the former system of overt matrilineal descent, since their successor Iwas was their sister's son, and it was this man Iwas who introduced the existing system of overt patrilineal descent through which the inhabitants of the chief village on this now patrilocal island trace kinship with him, the youngest boy at the time of my visit belonging to the seventeenth generation of his descendants in the direct male line.

"STONE MEN"

The importance of monoliths in tracing descent is due almost certainly to the fact discussed on p. 699, that these monuments, now consisting of plain coral blocks, for the most part undressed, represent what at one time in the history of this culture were stone statues carved to represent the dead. Thus some of the monoliths erected for the higher ranks in the district of Seniang in South-West Bay (which in turn were derived,

[1] Tattevin, 1, 1926, pp. 409, 410; also 2, 1931, Tales XXIX, p. 879 and XXX, pp. 880-1. The same personage figures in the mythology of Oba as the man-eating ogre Taso (Codrington, 3, pp. 398-402).

1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
0012 Malekula 0012

Sacrificer identifies himself with Le-hev-hev.

Both objects are simultaneously achieved through a man's identification with Le-hev-hev through sacrifice. We have already seen how a man's ghost, or soul, is saved for the after-world by the fact that Le-hev-hev devours the ghost of the "death pig" instead of his. But this substitution of the ghost of a tusked pig for that of the dead man is possible only owing to the fact that the man has himself, during his lifetime, become identified with the pig.[1] Thus victim, sacrificer and the mythological being to whom sacrifice is made [2] are all one; that is to say, that though separate creatures, they possess, through ritual, something in common. This something, in the case both of the pig and of the man, is that intangible part which, according to the native, after death becomes a "ghost" (*ta-mat*), and which during his lifetime we may call "soul." [3] Now, women when they die do not become ghosts, because, with certain exceptions,[4] they may not sacrifice, and therefore have no souls. Nor do young boys who have not yet sacrificed, for the same reason. For it is only through sacrifice that a man acquires a soul, and is therefore capable of prolonging his existence in the next world. It is by means of this intangible soul, which at death becomes a ghost, that a man establishes connexion with Le-hev-hev. The importance of the tusked boar lies in its position as intermediary between the two.

In order to understand what the natives' idea of sacrifice is, and what the sacrificial animal actually represents, it is necessary briefly to outline the preferments in rank attendant on the performance of the Maki rite. The Maki is a graded institution by means of which, through sacrifice and the performance of due ritual, a man rises through a series of ranks which vary greatly in number in different districts. In some districts there are very many—in the Seniang district of South-West Bay there are over thirty.[5] In others, as in Atchin today, where the system has become more completely democratised than elsewhere, there are only two, though

[1] This fact is mirrored in the Mota story of how "Qat made men and pigs at first in the same form, but on his brothers [including Suqe] remonstrating with him on the sameness of his creatures, he beat down the pigs to go on all fours and made men walk upright" (Codrington, 3, p. 158). In a tale from Oba, Tagaro jokingly refers to a pig he has cooked as his "mother" (Ibid. p. 411).

[2] One might add also the sacrificial monument. Thus, referring to the sacrifice at the dolmen which represents the cave guarded by the Guardian Ghost, Godefroy says (1, 1933, p. 37), "We have here, as forming a single entity: the victim, the altar and the sacrificer."

[3] Thus, in Mota, *qomate* means a dead pig killed at a feast (Codrington, 2). Compare also the Oba tale of an "underworld of pigs" equated with the underground "village of the ghosts" (Codrington, 3, p. 286). Pigs are said to have souls (*taruŋa*) in Florida (Ibid. p. 249). For the identification of the two concepts of "soul" and "ghost" in Oba, see Codrington, 3, p. 287. I did not record the Vao word for soul. In Atchin it is *mumun*, which also means "shadow." In South Raga the soul is *manak* during life, *armat* or *tegar* after death (Tattevin, 1, 1926, p. 394).

[4] Those, namely, who have taken part in the women's Maki (see p. 452).

[5] See Layard, 2, pp. 151-2, and Deacon, 4, pp. 274-5.

1: Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
0012 Malekula 0012

there were formerly more. In all the Small Islands, however, a man who has attained very high rank is addressed by a title of respect philologically equivalent to the word Supwe. The term in Atchin is *na-sup*, and in Vao *na-humbe*. In South-East Oba the same word under the form *sungwe* is used in precisely the same way.[1]

Now, I have already shown how *na-sup* and *na-humbe* (and the same is true of the Oba *sungwe*) are philologically equivalent to Le-hev-hev shorn of its prefix Le-, and that this fact alone shows the identification of men of high rank with the Guardian Ghost. The means by which this identification is attained is a matter which, in Atchin where my own main enquiries were conducted, and where the whole Maki rite has become much more complicated and removed from its simplicity through the addition of new and highly spectacular features from further south, I failed satisfactorily to elucidate. For the explanation given in the simpler culture of Vao I am indebted to Godefroy, who found that the title of *na-humbe*, and the titles of the two lower ranks which lead up to it, are bestowed in the first place, not on the sacrificer, but on the tusked boar itself, and that it is only through sacrifice that a man assumes the rank of the victim he sacrifices. The tusked boar is itself previously sanctified by sacrifice of yet other pigs. The boar thus acquires a soul,[2] and it is through the passage of the boar's soul into the sacrificer that the latter is himself sanctified and takes on his victim's rank.[3]

Consecration of Tusked Boars

conferring on them the ranks subsequently to be assumed by the sacrificer

Godefroy gives a brief account of the stages in the consecration of a tusked boar, beginning with a short account of the extraction of the incisors, which he describes as the boar's "initiation." He says:[4]

"This is how they accomplish the initiation of a future *na-humbe*.

[1] Layard, 9.

[2] In the Seniang district of South-West Bay sacred trees and plants, connected with the public graded society, chief among which is the cycas, also have souls (Deacon, 4, p. 548). These also are presumably sanctified by the sacrifice of the tusked boars that are attached to them. An extension of the same motive is probably also to be seen in South Raga in the application of the word *temat* to all objects, such as the cycas and dracaena, which are connected with a man's rise in rank. Though the South Raga word for "ghost" is *armat*, there can be little doubt that the two are connected. The term is also used for the influence that a man of high rank has over those in his immediate neighbourhood, a kind of "coercive power" directed against all those things which, in the natives' eyes, appear dangerous (Tattevin, 1, 1927, pp. 568-9). In this sense the word has the same meaning as the Small Islands word *tamat*, meaning "peace," of which mention is made below.

[3] For the equation "Principle [sacrificer] = offering = god," compare A. M. Hocart, p. 67.

[4] Godefroy, 1, 1934, pp. 115-19.

1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
OO12 Malekula OO12

CHAPTER XI

THE MAKI: GENERAL INTRODUCTION

SOME indication has already been gained from the preceding chapters regarding the nature of the Maki as a propitiatory rite in which, through the sacrifice of tusked boars, the sacrificer identifies himself with the Guardian Ghost and thereby ensures himself against annihilation after death. In so doing he at the same time honours the ancestral ghosts, and gains for himself a place by their side in the hereafter by gradually rising in rank through each successive sacrifice, each sacrifice representing a re-birth signified by the lighting of a new fire and the assumption of a new title and name. Each act of re-birth is followed by a period of seclusion in which on the physical plane he is treated as a little child unable to feed itself and being fed by others (on Vao by his wife), and on the spiritual plane he consolidates his gains, makes vows of abstinence, and plans the acquisition of yet higher ranks as soon as his material losses caused by the sacrifice of pigs and the immense outlay in food-stuffs for those assisting in and witnessing the rites have been made good.

In this way the Maki resembles other graded institutions of a public nature (for there is no secrecy about these rites) throughout Malekula, Ambrim and Epi, all known by variants of the same word, the best known so far being the *Mangki* of South-West and West Malekula recorded by Deacon.[1] Other institutions of a similar nature are the *Sukwe* of the Banks Islands and the Northern New Hebrides described by Codrington and Rivers, the *Sumbe* of Malo, and a number of like institutions known by a variety of names in other islands of the group, of which a brief survey will be found in Chapters XXVI to XXVIII.

While all these institutions follow the same main lines, there is, however, immense variation in detail not only in different districts, but even in neighbouring villages in the same district. In this way, while the Maki of the Small Islands and its variants in Malekula, Ambrim and Epi are all characterised by the erection of stone monuments of various kinds, such as monoliths, dolmens and stone-platforms, set up in special dancing-grounds, such monuments are entirely absent from the Banks Islands *Sukwe* in which the chief cult object of veneration is a cycas palm erected outside the men's house corresponding to the Vao *ghamal*.

[1] Deacon, 4, Chapters X, XI, XII. For Deacon's reference to this rite as *Nimangki* see footnote 2, p. 12.

1: Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
0012 Malekula 0012

796
184

At the same time the cycas is by no means absent from Malekula, but whereas, for example, in the *Mangki* of South-West Bay it is used as a cult object for certain ranks surrounded by a small circle of stones, it has no place whatever except in certain subsidiary ways in the Vao Maki, in which the only tree that I know of as being ritually planted is the erythrina. Such details could be multiplied *ad infinitum*, and are comparatively insignificant when compared with the great variation in the ritual as practised even in two villages on the same Small Island. In this way the two Sides of Vao perform quite different forms of the rite involving the erection of different types of stone monument and a corresponding variation in the details of social organisation. So also the individual villages composing each Side vary even within these limits in the elaboration of ritual facilitated by the custom of buying and selling rites.

FEATURES PECULIAR TO THE SMALL ISLANDS

Each "line" alternately performs the rite.

These matters will all be dealt with in due course. One of the chief characteristics, however, that distinguishes the Maki in all the Small Islands from any other recorded variants of the rite is that, whereas in all other districts of which we have adequate record, advancement in the hierarchy of ranks is achieved by individuals sacrificing purely on their own account, here the whole male community in any given village takes part, each "line" or marriage section consisting of alternate generations in the male line of descent performing the rite in alternating succession.[1]

Called Maki. Rite lasts from fifteen to thirty years.

A second point of similarity shared by all the Small Islands is the common use of the word Maki as opposed to the numerous other variants of the name listed on p. 692 and set out in Map X.

A third point of similarity in which the Small Islands differ from all other districts known to me is the extreme length of the period over which the rites are spread out, which in Vao may cover a period of from fifteen to twenty years, and in Atchin as many as thirty, thus lasting roughly a generation.

Rite divided into two parts. Stone-platform and dolmen.

A fourth point of similarity in the rites shared by all the Small Islands is that the whole performance is divided into two parts, each part culminating with the same series of ceremonies, at the end of which all the sacrificers become ritually re-born and take new names. In this way the

[1] Mr. T. H. Harrisson tells me that this is also the case in parts of Santo. A detailed description of the working of this system on Vao is given on pp. 97, 294 ff., 414 ff.

1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
0012 Malekula 0012

members of the sacrificing "line" achieve re-birth twice during a single performance of this double rite. Then, after a period of recuperation, the members of the opposite "line" become the sacrificers and are themselves similarly twice re-born, after which the first "line" once more assumes the sacrificial rôle, and the two "lines" continue to alternate in this way, each being re-born twice during its period of office.

A fifth point of similarity is that, throughout the Small Islands, the monument on which the final sacrifice at the end of the second part of the rite is performed is a stone-platform.

The monuments at which sacrifice is made at the end of the first part of the rite, however, differ. In what I have referred to as the dolmen-Maki, as performed in the Superior double-village on Vao, this monument consists of a single large dolmen. In the new type of monolith-Maki which was introduced into the Small Islands from the mainland some eight generations ago, and which, with certain modifications, is now firmly established on Wala and Atchin, the single large dolmen has been replaced by ten shrines, each of which is a composite monument the stonework of which consists of a tall monolith coupled with a diminutive dolmen. In all cases the monument is combined with a wooden image representing the ghosts of the alternate officiating generations of the male ancestors of the officiating "line" of Maki-men, in other words, all those of the same kinship section who have previously performed the rite.

Stone monuments correspond to beliefs regarding the Journey of the Dead.

We have, in the chapter on mythology,[1] seen how these ancestral ghosts are constellated in the figure of the Guardian Ghost. This is in turn closely bound up with the symbolic connexion existing between the monuments just mentioned, together with the ritual associated with them, and the beliefs concerning the Journey of the Dead. For, looked at from this point of view, the two parts of the Maki, as performed now on Vao and till recently on Wala and Atchin, in fact correspond with the two superimposed layers of belief concerning this journey as held in the various islands. Thus, just as all islands agree in the belief of an ultimate home of the dead high up on a volcano, so all islands agree in erecting a stone-platform and lighting a fire on it as the culminating act in the second part of the rite. The differences in belief, however, occur in the position accorded to the Guardian Ghost met with on the way. In the Vao version of the Journey of the Dead, the first half of which represents the older story, the Guardian Ghost is met with at the entrance to the Cave of the Dead. The monument erected for the first part of the rite on Vao is therefore a dolmen, which

[1] See p. 225.

1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
0012 Malekula 0012

corresponds to the cave. In the later versions of the story current on Atchin and Wala, however, the Guardian Ghost is said to be met with, not at the entrance to the cave, which in this version is empty, but on the reef at Bong-na-un,[1] and is at the same time said to be the grandmother of ten legendary brothers. In those islands, therefore, the monument erected for the first part of the rite has been altered so as to consist of ten shrines, in which the chief monument is a monolith combined with wooden image representing, from one point of view, the Guardian Ghost in its collective aspect, with the dolmen reduced to the smallest possible proportions and the ten sons represented by a division of the village into ten families, each of which is responsible for the erection of one shrine.

Of these two parts of the Maki, the first, characterised by the dolmen, is the older and, according to the natives' own records, was formerly practised also throughout the Small Islands at least as far south as Wala.[2]

Yet earlier type of rite in which the sole stone monument was a dolmen, similar to that now performed on Malo.

Thus, the natives affirm that at one time the dolmen was the only stone monument erected, and that in those days the rite was similar to that practised at the present time in the matrilineal island of Malo immediately to the north. In Vao this early type of rite is called *Ramben*,[3] a word probably connected with the Malo *rombu* used for the men's house which is intimately bound up with the rite as performed in that island and corresponds roughly to the Vao *ghamal*. All that is known, or that I have been able to record about the ritual at this early period, is that during the culminating rite ten re-entrant-tuskers were tied to the dolmen and there sacrificed just as, according to the Vao natives, is still the case on Malo. Owing to the sacrifice of these ten tuskers this ancient form of the rite is now referred to on Vao as Maki Hangawul.[4] *Hangawul* means "ten," referring to the ten re-entrant-tuskers (circle-tuskers are said to have been unknown at that time), and is thus purely descriptive. The word Maki, however, is in this case almost certainly an anachronism based on the modern use of this word to describe the whole rite, thereby supplanting the more ancient word *Sumbe* still used for the whole rite on Malo, but now restricted on Vao to describe the table-stone of the dolmen which is called *vet simbe-simbe*, *vet* meaning "stone" and *simbe* corresponding to the Malo *Sumbe*, both words, *simbe* and *Sumbe*, being variants of *Supwe* or *Sukwe*, of which, as mentioned elsewhere, the root is the Indonesian *sémba*, "to worship or honour."[5]

[1] See Layard, 4, pp. 122, 125.
[2] My records do not extend further south.
[3] This word is still used for the first part of the double rite for which a large dolmen is set up.
[4] Compare the Warsangul in South Raga (see p. 695).
[5] See p. 693.

1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
0012 Malekula 0012

Three stages of development correspond with successive stages of belief concerning the Journey of the Dead.

We can thus trace, in the Small Islands, three main stages in the development of the rite as judged from the stone monuments used:

Name by which I refer to the whole Double Rite	Where now performed	Chief Stone Monument used in First Part	Chief Stone Monument used in Second Part
1. (Referred to on Vao as Maki Hangawul)	Formerly in all Small Islands, now on Malo	Single large dolmen	(No second part)
2. Dolmen-Maki	Superior Side of Vao	Single large dolmen	Stone-platform
3. Monolith-Maki	Wala, Atchin; now being adopted on Inferior Side of Vao	Ten shrines, each with large monolith and small dolmen	Stone-platform

Table IV

These three successive types correspond with the three stages in the development of beliefs concerning the Journey of the Dead from the Small Islands that have been described elsewhere,[1] namely:

	Position of Guardian Ghost	Home of the Dead
(1)	At entrance to Cave.	(In Cave).
(2)	At entrance to Cave.	On Volcano.
(3)	Alone on reef, though the cave is retained as an unimportant element in the story.[2]	On Volcano.

Of these three stages of development, both of the Maki rite and of the Journey of the Dead, the first is associated, through Malo, with what I refer to below as the central group of islands, in which the dolmen is the central sacrificial monument and the belief in a home of the dead on a volcano is absent.[3] The type of public graded institution which this represents is now obsolete, so far as the Small Islands are concerned. The third stage is associated, on the contrary, with the mainland of Malekula, whence the whole of the monolith-Maki is said to have come.

[1] Layard, 4, p. 140.

[2] The ten shrines correspond with the ten sons the Guardian Ghost is said to have, according to this late version.

[3] See pp. 691 ff., 713, and Distribution Map X.

1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
0012 Malekula 0012

and where (at least in the north) the volcano is the goal to be sought by those of high rank after death. The second, or dolmen-Maki as performed on Vao, combines parts of both elements.

Doubling of the rite due also to beliefs concerning the Journey of the Dead expressed elsewhere in a division into higher and lower ranks.

This existing division into two main layers of culture also almost certainly explains the doubling of the rite. Indications exist that a similar doubling takes place in the rite in certain other districts, both in the ritual of some of the higher ranks and in a division of the ranks themselves into groups.[1] In Seniang, as both Deacon and I have independently shown, the ranks are divided into an even greater number of groups. In this case the multiplication of groups is due to the convergence of a number of culture-complexes, each of which has its own version of the Journey of the Dead. In other districts where there are only two groups of ranks the problem is simpler. With regard to the doubling of the rite in the Small Islands, a comparison with two neighbouring cultures will help to show what it means. The first lies in a consideration of the names given to the two parts of the rite, particularly in Atchin. Thus, in all the Small Islands, while the word Maki in its extended sense covers both parts of the rite, in its more restricted sense it is applied only to the second, which is the most important part, and in which the only sacrificial objects are tusked boars. The first part, on the other hand, is known by a variety of names, of which that used in Vao is Ramben [2] and that used in Atchin is Na-tò. Now the word *Na-tò* means "fowl," and refers to the fact that in this part of the rite, both in Atchin and in Vao, while the chief officiants sacrifice tusked boars, the rank and file of Maki-men sacrifice fowls. If we now turn to an examination of the ranks in East Oba we find that there are here only four, of which the lowest is Toa, meaning "fowl." "A boy has a fowl, *toa*, given him to start in life, and a fowl buys him his first step, the *toa*." But this "lowest step does not confer a title" as the higher ranks do. As "his fowls multiply . . . he changes some of them for a sow; so his property increases, and as he grows richer he desires to take each further step." [3]

It would thus appear that the first part of the rite called Na-tò in Atchin (and so also the Ramben in Vao) represents what was to some extent a preliminary rite for those not yet admitted to the higher ranks. The significance of this will be appreciated when we remember that the monuments erected for the first part of the rite are in both cases those which are associated with the cave and with the Guardian Ghost, which have been shown to represent a stratum of culture earlier than that

[1] The division into groups of ranks, where recorded, is shown on the Table of Grade Names by a thick line dividing one group from another.

[2] Also used for the old type of rite mentioned on p. 274.

[3] Codrington, 3, p. 113.

1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
0012 Malekula 0012

associated with the home of the dead in a volcano and with the stone-platform and the second part of the rite. Layers of culture are at the same time represented in the existing stratification of society, which in the Small Islands is associated with rank in the graded society rather than with considerations of birth. As has already been pointed out, the belief in a home of the dead in a volcano is associated with ideas concerning a sky-world and is particularly associated with the higher ranks, and the belief in a home of the dead in a cave with the lower ranks and with those who have not taken any rank at all. This duality of belief, based also on the psychological grounds indicated in the section on "Height," [1] is common throughout the Pacific as between chiefs on the one hand and commoners on the other. It is therefore permissible, as throwing yet further light on the Small Island problem, to call attention once more to the state of affairs among the chiefly Big Nambas, who also have four ranks, of which the two lower are in a different class from the two higher, the two lower being easily purchasable, but the two higher being acquired only by chiefs or by permission of a chief.[2] In this case, also, one of the main distinctions between the two pairs of ranks lies in the nature of the monuments erected, the pigs sacrificed for the two lower ranks being tied to stakes of cycas wood and for the two higher ranks to stones.

Additions to public graded society ritual from other sources.

It must not be supposed, from the above account, that the three types of public graded institution are entities to the extent that either the whole or nothing of them can be performed. On the contrary, it will be seen from what has just been said that, even with respect to such important items as the types of monument erected, elements can be added or taken away. With regard to the ritual, which is extremely complicated, as may be judged by the length of time it takes for the whole cycle to be performed, the opportunities for change are boundless. I refer elsewhere [3] to the fact that, in Raga, what is in other districts the separate rite of Initiation into Manhood has there been incorporated into the graded society ritual. So also we find that the construction of a *ghamal*, or of a new set of slit gongs, with the protracted ritual associated with them, is in some places incorporated with it, in others not. When it comes to a question of the almost infinite number of lesser rites that form part of this fifteen to twenty years' cycle, we find that so great is the variation in them from place to place that not even two villages within the same district perform all details of the rite alike. The same is true even within the restricted area of any one of the Small Islands with their small populations of about 400 inhabitants, where no two single-villages, though they may be halves of one double-village and however reduced in numbers, will have exactly the same series of sub-rites.

[1] See p. 732. [2] See p. 741. [3] See p. 493.

1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
0012 Malekula 0012

Artistry and prestige.

Nor will any two successive performances in a given village be quite alike. For, with the keen dramatic and artistic sense of the natives, for whom, in the Small Islands, the Maki affords the opportunity for endless display of every kind in the introduction of new songs, new dances, new improvements to old rites, it is a matter of moment that not only for artistic reasons but also for prestige and the eclipsing of rival villages, at least something new should always be added. The chief method by which this is achieved is in the number of valuable tusked boars, often amounting to several hundred, that will be sacrificed at one time. Details of such mass sacrifices will be found in the accounts given below.

"Copyright," The Selling of Rites.

The numbers of boars killed depends upon the will only of those who sacrifice. With regard to ritual, however, the matter stands on a very different footing. For no rite or sub-rite, no song once performed, no dance once it has been invented, much less any important aspect of ritual, may be taken on by one village from another without heavy payment. There is a system of unwritten copyright for everything. Nothing is given away. Thus, in other aspects of culture also, the minutest alteration in the style of carving a canoe figure-head, in the number of decorative sticks projecting from a house-gable, or in the fashioning of a club, the smallest improvement in ritual—all these, once made, must be paid for by anyone wishing to repeat them.

INFLUENCE OF "COPYRIGHT" ON THE SLOW DIFFUSION OF CULTURE. BRIEF HISTORY OF THE MAKI ON ATCHIN

This system of copyright is an important indication of the super-development of the commercial aspect of life in the whole group, not only with respect to material things, but also towards their ritual proceedings. It is also a fact of prime importance with regard to the diffusion of culture. My chief data regarding this were obtained on Atchin, and will be published in detail in a future volume. But I will anticipate this publication to emphasise a few points.

My evidence is based on extensive genealogies and on detailed accounts as to exactly what individuals were responsible for the introduction of the most important elements of the rite. These records go back for nineteen generations to the introduction of patrilineal descent into the island.[1] Before this time the chief monument to be erected was the single large dolmen, as in the earliest record on Vao; circle-tuskers were at that time unknown, and the highest grade of sacrificial pig was a re-entrant-tusker. At this time also the titles taken were LUWUSH, WEL-WEL and

[1] See pp. 17, 84.

1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
OO12 Malekula OO12

MULON, the two highest of these being the same as those still in use among the Big Nambas. All the most important elements subsequently introduced into the public graded institution on Atchin came from the mainland of Malekula. Of these the first was the stone-platform, introduced eighteen[1] generations ago, changing the whole character of the rite. For the succeeding eleven generations I have no further information, during which period doubtless many new rites of a less notable nature were acquired. Full details begin seven generations ago, from which time I have record of every Maki performed in the village in which I lived. This is an important date in Atchin history. At this time there flourished on the mainland, opposite Wala, the two villages already mentioned called Lawor and Bot-walim. These two villages, now unfortunately extinct, constituted the chief centre from which the new type of monolith-Maki was diffused to the Small Islands. The process began to make itself seriously felt on Atchin at this date with the introduction of the ten shrines already described, though in a different form from that now used, since all were then sheltered by a single pent roof with screens dividing the shrines from one another, somewhat after the manner of those still set up on Rano, where this type of Maki is still performed. It was at this time also that, along with the new type of monument, the title MAL was introduced, LUWUSH and WEL-WEL being dropped, but MULON being retained in an inferior position to MAL. From then on, numerous other elements were introduced, all being heavily paid for with tusked boars. The next generation saw the introduction of circle-tuskers and of the supernumerary title MELTEG. At about this time also a new development took place, namely the erection of the stone-platform as well as the ten shrines at the outset of the double rite, the stone-platform serving for both parts. Both this and succeeding generations saw also the introduction of a whole mass of new rites, connected not only with the Maki, but with Mortuary Ritual, Gong-Raising, Lodge-Building and every aspect of ceremonial life.

Where these originated before coming to Lawor and Bot-walim I am unable to say. The fact remains that they all had to be paid for at great price, some of them direct, others from individuals or villages on Wala who had themselves previously acquired them from the mainland. After the destruction of the mainland villages, all that had not yet been bought direct from Lawor and Bot-walim had to be bought from Wala, many of such rites having already passed slowly and with endless haggling from one village on that island to another. Many have never yet been so bought, and Wala therefore enjoyed at the time of my visit the position of a Mecca for those seeking new rites. Nor does the selling of a rite in any way impoverish the seller, except by robbing him of the prestige of being its only performer. For on selling a rite the owner does not relin-

[1] One informant put it as high as nineteen.

1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
OO12 Malekula OO12

quish the right to perform it himself, but can continue to sell it to all comers.

The significant fact with regard to the length of time required for diffusion to take place under these conditions is that, in spite of the enormous prestige enjoyed by the new rite, and the eagerness of the natives for every new thing, after seven generations many of its important features have not yet reached Atchin, only three miles away from Lawor. Yet more, though many others have been possessed by one Atchin village for generations, some of these have not yet reached certain other villages even on Atchin, and, though the villages on the Inferior Side of Vao have now begun to adopt as much of the new rite as they can, the double-village of Pete-hul–Togh-vanu on the Superior Side has not bought any of it at all. Vao is three miles from Atchin and six miles from Lawor and Bot-walim, so that, on this computation, the speed of diffusion in this corner of the world under a system of ritual copyright is just under one mile per generation.

THE VAO MAKI

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Dolmen-Maki now performed only on Superior Side of the Island. Villages on Inferior Side have recently adopted the monolith-Maki from Atchin.

As I have already said, the type of public graded institution in which the only monument erected was a single large dolmen has for many generations been obsolete in the Small Islands.[1] So far as we know, and judging from the single monument erected, this rite was not a dual one as is the present-day Maki. The duality of the rite appears to have been introduced along with the stone-platform, which came from the mainland of Malekula along with a series of new beliefs concerning a home of the dead on a volcano. This happened, on Atchin, some eighteen generations ago, but we have no evidence when it was adopted on Vao, though presumably, as the whole movement of culture with which it is associated is here from south to north, this would have occurred several generations later than on Atchin. This dual rite, in which the chief monument erected for the first part is a dolmen and for the second is the stone-platform, is now only performed on Vao. Even so, however, such is the diversity of culture even on this minute island which is less than a mile wide, the whole population does not practise this rite, which is performed now only by the double-village of Pete-hul–Togh-vanu, which together form the Superior and therefore the most conservative Side of the Island. The remaining two double-villages have in quite recent times adopted new fashions from Atchin which, though they by no means embrace all

[1] See p. 274.

1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
OO12 Malekula OO12

the features which further south go to build up the newer type of monolith-Maki, nevertheless include its characteristic feature, namely the erection in the first part of the rite, in place of the single large dolmen, of ten shrines in each of which the dolmen survives only in diminutive form accompanied by a large monolith. This, following the general practice of calling a rite by the name, not of its place of origin, but of the place from which the right to perform it was bought, is now called on Vao the Atchin Maki. The first Vao village to purchase the main features of the monolith-Maki from Atchin was the village of Norohure, which, significantly enough, occupies the least distinguished position of all the Vao villages. I am not able to give the exact date of the transaction, which occurred some considerable time before my informant, a man of forty or fifty, was born. The Atchin Maki, that is to say the monolith-Maki, has been performed several times at this village, and several times at its parent village Singon, which was the next to acquire the right by the usual method of purchase. Peter-ihi, belonging to the other double-village on the Inferior Side of the Island, was the next to acquire it. This village has only performed it once, and at the time of my visit was just beginning it for the second time. Venu, its partner village, was the last to make the purchase, and at that time was in the middle of its first performance. As an instance of the slow rate of purchase of the various sub-rites, which must be bought one by one, none of these villages have yet acquired the right to perform the Atchin ceremony called *potali*,[1] and Peter-ihi alone has bought, direct from Atchin and not through the intermediary of any Vao village, the right to perform the ritual of erecting ceremonial yam-mounds called *tavi*.[1]

The junior, and probably refugee, communities of Lavame and Saraliwe died out (except for a few descendants not numerous enough to carry out any rite on their own) too soon for this new influence to have affected them, and never performed anything other than the dolmen-Maki.

Stone-platform introduced from mainland by way of Tolamp. "First men" of the Maki.

An interesting case is the position occupied by the other refugee community, that of Tolamp. This community, though numbering at most ten individuals, represents the total number of those now surviving from the once flourishing island situated between Atchin and Vao that was submerged, with the result that the inhabitants were forced to seek refuge elsewhere. A full history of their wanderings is given in another chapter.[2] It is enough here to say that, after occupying a number of sites on the mainland, at the last of which they erected the largest monolith known on

[1] These ceremonies will be described in a future volume on the Maki in Atchin.
[2] See Chapter XXII.

1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
0012 Malekula 0012

Malekula, their descendants eventually became so decimated that the last remnants of them sought refuge on Vao, where they now live on ground ceded to them from Togh-vanu. In the days of their prosperity, however, they were regarded as the most go-ahead and therefore most honoured community north of Atchin, and were the first to buy any new form of Maki that emanated from the Malekulan mainland. This was in the days after the introduction of the stone-platform, but before that of the ten shrines. The result of this is that, in spite of their present position as refugees, they are still looked up to on Vao as depositories of the highest traditions of the older form of the existing Maki, as performed in Pete-hul–Togh-vanu, are regarded here as the "first men" of the Maki, and take precedence in all its rites.

"First men" the vehicles of "apostolic succession," and announce date of culminating sacrifice.

The position of "first men" of the Maki is an important one, since it not only confers considerable prestige on those holding it, but also embodies the principle of continuity connecting the present performers of the rite with its remote founders and with all those in the long line of participants who have practised and preserved it throughout the ages down to the present day. For, from the point of view of any given village in the Small Islands or on the adjacent mainland, the "first men" are always those from whom they themselves have acquired the most important aspects of the rite. The chief honour and duty imposed on them is that their leader, that is to say the chief man of the village from which the rite has been derived, shall undertake the important function of announcing the date on which the culminating sacrifice is to be performed.[1] As he does so, he holds a kava root in his hand, and representatives of all those who have already been initiated into the rite (namely those of the "introducing line" as well as initiates from other villages) must touch this while the announcement is being made, so that, through physical connection with him by means of the kava root, they may achieve continuity with the past and themselves forge a new link in the chain which will itself hand the rite on to posterity. Thus, for the Vao village of Pete-hul the "first men" are the men of Tolamp, from whom they derived their form of the rite. In its offshoot village of Togh-vanu, however, which in its turn derived the rite from Pete-hul, it is a man of Pete-hul who announces the date and so forms the link with the past. In the same way, in the villages on the Inferior Side of Vao, which have acquired yet later forms of the rite from Atchin,[2] the announcement is made by an Atchin man, or, failing such, by a man of the Vao village of Norohure, which was the first on this island to acquire these new forms. So continuity is preserved in much the same way as in the Christian

[1] See p. 376. [2] See p. 281.

1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
OO12 Malekula OO12

I noted this song before I was aware of the story of To-wewe. The only information I can give about it is that the last phrase means "They seek (*shel-iel*) *tawor* kernels on the path (*ne-selu*)."

RANKS: ORIGINALLY FOUR, NOW TWO

Once the stone-platform had been introduced to Vao from N'av-av by way of Tolamp, all the sub-rites connected with it were transmitted one by one through the same channel by the method of ceremonial purchase.

(a) *Vel-vel (or Na-som) and Mulon.*

The dual form of Maki resulting from this process included at one time four ranks, divided into two groups of two ranks each. The lowest group consisted of *Vel-vel* and *Mulon*. These are the two highest ranks known among the Big Nambas according to Deacon's information, and the only two according to my own information derived from Atchin, where *Mulon* is said to be the Big Nambas title for a chief. An alternative title for *Vel-vel* was *Na-som*, the word ordinarily used for shell-bead necklaces that in Vao are used purely for ornament but in the Banks Islands are money. Godefroy refers to both these as "children's titles," and it is possible that they may still be taken by boys during the mass sacrifice on the Lower Side of the dancing-ground described on pp. 390, 429.

(b) *Mal and Melteg.*

The highest group consisted of *Mal*, universally considered as the highest in the whole of the Northern New Hebrides, and the supernumerary title of *Melteg*.[1] Of these, *Melteg* is itself but a modified form of *Mal*, being formed by the addition of the syllable *teg*, which causes the *a* of *Mal* to be transformed into an *e*, *teg* being but another form of the word *togh* meaning "to stay," and referring to the periods of voluntary retreat undertaken by those of high rank after the sacrifice.

Only Mal and Melteg remain.

The process of democratisation in the Small Islands, combined with the enormously increased wealth of these islanders in pigs, has on Vao, as on Atchin, had the result that in recent years all the lower ranks have disappeared. Thus, for example, the rank of *Mulon* applied to chiefs among the Big Nambas has sunk so low as to become obsolete. This has no immediate social consequences since the Big Nambas have at the present time little or no contact with Vao. What is, however, most galling to the men of high rank on the east coast of Malekula is the fact that *Mal*, which is now actually the lowest of the two ranks taken on Vao, is

[1] Godefroy sometimes spells this *Meltek*, and when followed by a personal name often omits the *g* or *k*, leaving only *Melte*.

1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
0012 Malekula 0012

there actually the highest, so that a great man arriving from East Malekula finds to his disgust that most young men, and even boys, are there invested with honours which it has taken him, in his own home, a lifetime to acquire.[1]

On Vao the older men are all *Meltog*, within which rank there are a number of yet higher supernumerary grades conferring yet higher distinction which will be referred to on p. 432.

Lavishness of the Rite

The comparative simplicity of the Small Island Maki with regard to the number of ranks is, on the other hand, balanced by an immense increase in the number of rites, and by the great length of time they take to perform. This increase is seen also both in the quality and the quantity of tusked boars that are sacrificed, a number which on occasion rises to several hundred at a time.

For, though only one "line," consisting of members of one matrilineal moiety within the patrilocal village, performs at one time, each member of this moiety is the son of a member of the other moiety, and family solidarity sees to it that both moieties combine to pool resources. In this way, the whole wealth of an entire village is contributed lavishly towards the performance of every detail of the rite. In spite of the number of years, roughly a generation, which it takes to perform the rite, each man whose life is not cut short has the opportunity of participating at least twice, or, if he is lucky, three or even four times. For it is a point of honour that the rite shall be carried through as speedily as possible, so that rise in rank may be swift and its performance by the opposing "line" composed of members of the other matrilineal moiety (which in this patrilocal community at the same time includes the next generation) shall not be unduly delayed.

EVE OF THE RITE

RECKONING BY "NIGHTS" INSTEAD OF "DAYS"

There is only one more subject to mention before proceeding to an account of the special rites connected with the Vao Maki. This is the period covered in the native mind by what we speak of as a "day." Modern Europe regards the twenty-four-hour period we call a "day" as extending from midnight to midnight. This is a purely artificial convention, since there is no obvious natural phenomenon occurring at these moments to show us that they have arrived. Moreover, we tend to regard the night as a period of recuperation after the day, and consequently in practice think of the twenty-four-hour period as starting either at dawn or

[1] A somewhat similar state of affairs is reported by Codrington from Gaua in Santa Maria, where "boys begin high up, so that a Gaua boy often ranks with a grey-haired Mota man" (Codrington, 3, p. 105).

2: Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1936
OO12 Malekula OO12
Small Islands

Dr. W. H. R. Rivers and myself to Malekula.[1] These monuments, which include dolmens, monoliths, stone-platforms, cairns, and circles, primarily and to this day still associated with mortuary ritual, reach their highest development in connection with the great sacrificial rite called *Maki*, the name given in these islands to a socio-religious hierarchy corresponding to the Mangke of the Big Nambas, based on identification with the ancestors and with a mythical hawk. This rite is at once the great unifying factor in these islands and at the same time the most frequent cause of the intensest rivalry. In most parts of Malekula the rite is an individual one, performed by one man at a time, and consists of a number of grades which last a life-time in the taking. In Atchin and the neighbouring islands however, owing to their possession of an anomalous kinship system closely allied to the six-class system of relationship discovered by Deacon on Ambrym, it is a communal one, all men of alternate generations within any given village sacrificing at once. The sacrificial animal is the tusked boar, from which the upper canines have been removed in order to allow unimpeded growth to the tusks, which curve round, re-enter the jaw, and, if the boar is allowed to live, finally emerge again and, in rare instances, make three complete circles. The rearing of these boars is an extremely skilled process in which the inhabitants of these islands excel all others, and is accompanied by many magical performances. These boars are graded according to the size of their tusks at any given moment, and also, while alive, serve as currency for the purchase of wives, for ceremonial exchange between affinal relatives, and for innumerable other purposes. It is thus no small indication of the importance of the *Maki* in native life that it is not unusual at the culminating point of one of these protracted rites for as many as five hundred of these valuable tusked boars, each worth from ten to forty pounds in English money, to be sacrificed at once.

There are two kinds, or to borrow an ecclesiastical term, uses, of *Maki* in these islands. In the older form, still practised in the village of Petehul on Vao, there are two monuments only, a large dolmen and a stone-platform, at each of which the sacrifice is made.

In the newer use as practised on Atchin ten shrines are erected along one side of the dancing-ground, each consisting of a dolmen, a monolith, and a carved wooden image representing the ancestral spirit, surmounted by a roof of which the ridge-pole, resting on the head of the image, represents the head and wings of the mythical hawk. By the side of each shrine nine further dolmens or monoliths (depending on which group of alternate generations is performing the rite) are erected, which, joined together, form a continuous line of a hundred stones. Behind all these stand two stone platforms, also furnished with images and roofed, one for each of the two social groups called "Side of the Stone," and on the other side of the dancing-ground is another continuous line of a hundred small stones. These stones all represent ancestors, and it is to them and to the images that the sacrificial boars are tied. The complete *Maki* which, as has been said, is alternately performed by men of alternate generations, is a protracted composite rite lasting, in its extended form, for anything between fifteen and thirty years, during which an almost

[1] Dr. Rivers stayed only eight days, after which he took a passing motor launch to Tangoa.

2: Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1936
OOI2 Malekula OOI2
Small Islands

endless series of minor rites are performed, each involving the sacrifice of numerous tusked boars and an enormous expenditure of food for feasts. Each village performs its own rite in its own time, and the major rites attract guests from all other villages on the island, as well as from other islands and from the Malekulan mainland. There are numerous dance-cycles, frequently lasting all night, and finally, before the supreme sacrifice, for five days and nights on end. Each dance-cycle has its own songs, many of which commemorate the deeds of ancestors, and its peculiar gong-rhythms beaten on an orchestra of upright slit-gongs. Some of the songs are of surpassing beauty, and the gong-rhythms are so complicated that no European has yet been known to master them. Interspersed between the dance-cycles performed at stated intervals throughout the rite are a series of formal square dances and dramatic performances called *na-leng*,[1] many of which have become secularized, but some of which remain traditional and form a running commentary on the mythological background of the rite. This, as I hope to show in a forthcoming work, is none other than a dramatization of the Malekulan version of the journey of the dead, briefly described by me in a recent article (1934), which itself forms part of the mythology of megalithic peoples as far apart as the Nagas in Assam, the inhabitants of the Tamil country of Southern India, peoples of the Near East, of the Mediterranean littoral, and, in our own islands, of ancient Scotland, and in Scandinavia.

The bearers of this megalithic civilization were a maritime and river-loving people or peoples, the details of whose adventurous migrations yet remain to be worked out in detail—there have been at least two separate migrations of them into Malekula—but there can be little doubt that from Scandinavia to Malekula and beyond they have a common origin. One of the greatest interests to us therefore in Malekula is the fact that it is not impossible that, in the ritual of the *Maki* and in the beliefs associated with it, we may see a variant of one aspect at least of what some of our own forefathers, the megalith builders of Britain, did and thought. This rite is also one of fertility and of re-birth, each participant marking his assumption of new life by taking a new name, usually that of a maternal ancestor. The sacrifice of tusked boars is known on Atchin, both by precept and through historical tradition, to be a substitute for former human sacrifice, and those who make the highest sacrifice take oaths to keep the peace for varying periods, extending to three years, or, in the case of old men, a lifetime. Though cannibalism still exists, it is contrary to present *Maki* practice, but its close association with more ancient religious forms is still evident in that when an enemy is wounded, a dolmen, similar to that erected in the older *Maki* use, is hastily constructed in the bush, and the body is placed upon it and there ritually sacrificed, the victor thereupon taking a new name as in the *Maki* proper.

Though the wooden images of ancestors and hawks, and the roofs erected over the stone monuments rot, the stone themselves are never taken down, and remain as a memorial to those who sacrificed at them, whose stones they are henceforth said to be. I have shown elsewhere (1928) that monolith and wooden image combined represent an earlier form in which there was no

[1] See Mr. Harrisson's reference to similar performances among the Big Nambas, p. 332.

2: Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1936
OO12 Malekula OO12
Small Islands

wooden image and the monolith itself was carved to represent the ancestral human form, the wooden image having been added only when the art of carving stone was lost, so that what was originally a stone statue became split into two parts, of which the portrait, being of wood, in time disappears, and the plain monolith only remains. Though in Atchin the ritual has become so elaborate as to have largely obscured its original significance, there can be no doubt that in its earlier forms, as still in South-West Bay, the monolith actually represented, and was deemed to be inhabited by, the ghosts of all those ancestors who had previously performed the rite, and, after death, the new sacrificer himself. Hence its importance as a memorial and in the preservation of genealogies and history. Many of the more important figures in Atchin history are thus commemorated, both by their stones and by the preservation of their graves. So strong is the association of ancestors with stones that in semi-mythical accounts they are frequently stated to have had the power to turn themselves into stone during life-time, or to have actually become stone when they died. This process has been carried yet further in the case of those figures associated with the mythology connected with the journey of the dead, who are now to be seen as natural coral blocks standing at various points on the coast along the path trodden by the ghosts of the dead on their way to their future home.

There is no space to do more than mention a few of the most important in the long list of ritual activities in this rich civilization: activities in connection with the belief in ancestors and rites of communion with them; the protracted mortuary ritual; initiation lasting nine months with an intensive period of thirty days in which continuous hoaxes are practised on the luckless novices; the operation of incision; rites connected with the consecration of the long-distance canoes capable of carrying thirty men on trading expeditions to other islands for as far as 80 miles over open sea; a special form of sex initiation performed on the distant island of Omba; the consecration of houses and of tusked boars; magic; their economic life, their fishing, gardening, and trading; their laws of copyright whereby nothing is given, but everything, such as songs, dances, variations in ritual, whole rites, magical formulae, designs for the carving of ancestor-images and of canoe figure-heads, details of house construction and decoration, and a hundred other aspects of their artistically rich culture, is sold by these intensely commercial people at high prices and with due ceremony from individual to individual, village to village, and island to island, thus constituting the framework for the dissemination and blending of endless variations of culture; history and tradition.

One other feature must be mentioned on account of its bearing on the coming of the whites. Mr. Harrisson has already referred to the white-skinned, aquiline-nosed immigrants, who are said to have introduced the latest phases of megalithic culture into that area. On Atchin the equivalent culture-hero is a being called Ta-har, corresponding to the Polynesian Tanggaloa, Banks Islands Tagaro, and the Big Nambas Horo, regarded in Atchin as the benign creator, who is at once a stone and the moon, who made the islands and gave their inhabitants their languages, who arrived in a canoe and introduced the pig and the coconut to ten legendary petromorphic brothers standing on

2: Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1936
OO12 Malekula OO12
Small Islands

their quarrelsomeness among themselves. This characteristic is undeniable,[1] but was mitigated before the coming of the white man by the fact that, living in dense bush and being but poor shots with bows and arrows, the amount of life sacrificed in the course of their wars was very small. Wars would drag on for months without a death. With the advent of the shot-gun matters however suddenly changed. What had before been little more than semi-ritual quarrels assumed quite different dimensions, and the coastal peoples, who were the first to obtain firearms, slaughtered their enemies without mercy. The old rule that wars could not cease till the number of dead, rarely more than one or two, was equal on both sides (this alone showing its ritual nature) no longer held when these were multiplied by tens, and war then came to mean the extermination of entire villages. In this way the people of Atchin had themselves assisted in the complete extermination of entire mainland communities, so that where before the white man's arrival there were flourishing villages was now waste bush. In this way almost the entire population of the semi-coastal villages of north-east Malekula, as well as large sections of the population of Atchin itself, had been destroyed, so that the numbers even on this island had been reduced from what are said to have totalled something in the neighbourhood of 1000 to, at the time of my visit, 401. This had made the natives of Atchin think, and their constant cry was, contrary to the opinion of most white men, "How can we combine to save ourselves?"

One method they adopted was, after the expulsion of the last trader, to allow no alcohol on the island. Though passionately fond of drink when they could get it, they had seen enough of its effects and had themselves evolved such a strong public opinion on the subject that no drink was allowed on the island, though it is true that rare passing cutters reaped a brief reward from some of the younger men.

In matters concerning their own culture there was an increasing disapproval of sorcery. How far this was due to the influence of the white man it is difficult to say. It is however a fact that on all the small islands sorcerers, or suspected sorcerers, were finding life considerably less easy than formerly, as the number of refugee sorcerers on Atchin alone showed.

More important, more concrete than these however was their determination to rebuild and reinforce the best elements in their own culture through the performance, ever more magnificently, of the *Maki* rite. One man, almost alone of the decimated Atchin village of Emil Marur, who had spent years on white men's plantations and at the end had been tricked of all his earnings, was busy during the whole of my stay carving the ten images needed for the rite and by intensive garden work and the rearing of pigs and the re-learning of the details of ritual from the older men, preparing for its performance in order to rehabilitate his and his kinsmen's spiritual and, through them, material fortunes. This man was Mari, who, in the clash with the government mentioned above, was in danger of being taken to prison in Vila for an imagined offence.

A similar case was that of Mataru on Vao, this time an erstwhile convert,

[1] The element of fear, though considerable, was never so great in the island populations as among the Big Nambas, owing to the comparative safety afforded by the sea and the greater breadth of outlook gained through trade with other islands.

2: Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1936
0012 Malekula 0012
Small Islands

who had returned to his own people and was busy reviving the fortunes of his village in the same way. These two men were among my best informants, since they themselves were conscious learners from the older men and, like all learners, the most capable of passing on their knowledge.

Nor were the people of Atchin averse to using such aspects of the white man's material culture as would seem to them to further their interests. Though stone tools were still used for gardening and shell tools for carving, some natives possessed knives, but such things were not common, and the degradation in plastic art which everywhere followed on their introduction had, at the time of my visit, only recently begun to show itself. It seemed, by the way, most curious to me that, with the tremendous labour of digging in hard ground with nothing better than hard-wood sticks, no white man had thought of introducing more efficient agricultural implements, but none such existed. The hard-earned white man's money obtained on distant plantations was used almost exclusively with two objects in view. One was the purchase of whaleboats to replace their former long-distance canoes in order to facilitate the trade in and exchange of pigs in other islands. The second, closely connected with it, had as its result the only real benefit conferred by the white man, indirectly and without his knowledge, on the native. When I arrived on Atchin I was surprised at the number of young men who spoke pidgin English. It was not till I had been some time on the island that the reason for this became apparent. One of the least desirable aspects of the social system in this and the neighbouring islands was polygamy which, since most of the older men had two wives, effectually prevented the younger men from marrying until a comparatively late age. Wives are bought with the most valuable currency known in Atchin, namely pigs. So the younger men seized the opportunity created by the system of indentured labour to sign on for three years, without, like other natives, running up debts at the trader's store, so that with the money thus earned they might, on their return, buy pigs with which to purchase wives. This wholly beneficial revolution in the social machinery was in full swing at the time of my visit, but Mr. Harrisson tells me, and this is one of the most interesting points of comparison between then and now, that the old men have now turned tables on the young, and by devaluing the pig in terms of women and increasing the bride-price from eight or nine pigs to fifty or sixty have thus restored the old equilibrium, and incidentally, presumably, their own authority. When we reflect upon the fact that the young men twenty-two years ago are the older men now we have a useful sidelight on one of the mechanisms governing the rise and fall of revolutions.

Another effect of the increased wealth in pigs thus gained was the elimination of the lower grades from the *Maki* hierarchy. This process was not primarily due to the wealth so gained, but, like so many other changes in native custom, was very much accentuated by it. In all other parts of Malekula the *Maki*, as has already been pointed out, is a graded hierarchy in which the grades are taken by individuals, and the taking of them demands great expenditure of pigs and other forms of wealth, so that when a man has reached the highest grade called *Mal* he is a very great man and jealous of his distinction. The tendency in such districts was consequently to increase the number of pre-

2: Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1936
OO12 Malekula OO12
Small Islands

liminary grades in order to enhance the dignity of those few who had reached the highest rank. In Atchin, on the other hand, owing to the communal nature of the rite and the mutual help afforded by every member of the village community to every other member, a contrary process was at work, the lower grades being already in process of elimination before the arrival of the white man. With the acquisition of the new wealth this process became speeded up, with the result that by the time of my visit they had all disappeared, so that each and every man, youth, and male piccaninny on the island who was capable of sacrificing a pig belonged to the grade *Mal*, much to the chagrin of those in other communities who had taken a lifetime achieving it. Even the older men on Atchin felt somewhat abashed by the general levelling-up, and, in order to assert their own superiority, a new supernumerary grade had been invented, called *Mel-teg*, literally "The *Mal* who stays at home," referring to the vows of abstinence taken after the *Maki*. It is amusing and significant to note that, according to Mr. Harrisson, the young men have again asserted their equality and that now most men on Atchin possess the title *Mel-teg*, and apparently for the moment, in this respect at any rate, democracy has reasserted itself, for there is no record of any further supernumerary grade.

The younger generation of natives made use of the white man's coming not only in the direction of freeing themselves from the domination of the older men. With the acute dramatic sense which is the essence of their culture they had also made up to some extent for other deprivations which the white man had brought about by using both him and his inventions for the enhancement of their already rich ritual life. Pantomimic representations of various aspects of the white man's activities had been incorporated into the dramatic repertory of the *na-leng* plays and dances, muskets were used to heighten the effect of ritual combats during the sex-initiatory expedition to Omba, into the more serious initiation rites on Atchin, in which hoaxes are performed on the initiates, more than one white man's *tour de force* was incorporated, and many of the masks and images were made lurid by means of Reckett's blue.

It is however significant to note that, even in the case of such a wide departure from native tradition as the abandonment of the manufacture of their own long-distance canoes in favour of white men's whale-boats, the old consecration rites were still continued. At one such consecration rite at which I was present over sixty valuable tusked boars were sacrificed, and the supreme sacrifice was that of a bullock, obtained from a trader, for which all the complicated sacrificial ritual was performed; while in the pantomimic dances the skulls of a bullock and two goats were used as masks.

One final word as to the causes of depopulation. At the time of my visit the population was on the decline. Of physical causes the chief was, as has been seen, the introduction of the musket which turned comparatively harmless semi-ritual combats into lethal battles. Second to this, the introduction of diseases, mainly of dysentery, which wiped out whole families. As to the psychological causes put forward by Rivers and others but denied by Mr. Harrisson, all I am able to say quite definitely is that there was at that time a general belief among the older men and some of the young ones that the race was doomed. The old men remembered the day when native culture was the highest achievement of the human race as they conceived it. The appearance